

## Message Text

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41

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4902

INFO USMISSION NATO

POLAD CINCEUR (VIA POUCH)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 1881

STADIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, PFOR, SP, US

SUBJ: TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION--STRUCTURAL  
ARRANGEMENTS

SUMMARY: WE WILL WANT TO BE PREPARED TO MOVE QUICKLY WITH THE SPANISH AFTER RATIFICATION TO PUT INTO PLACE THE STRUCTURE CALLED FOR BY THE NEW TREATY. TO DO THIS, A VARIETY OF DECISIONS WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THIS MESSAGE ATTEMPTS TO LAY OUT A NUMBER OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED AND RECOMMENDS SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PAST RECORD: THE EXISTING STRUCTURE WHICH "MANAGES" THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 1970 AGREEMENT HAS DEMONSTRATED SOME SIGNIFICANT WEAKNESSES. ITS SEVERAL ELEMENTS HAVE FOR THE MOST PART WORKED INDEPENDENTLY AND WITHOUT CENTRAL COORDINATION. THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE MATTERS PROVED A POOR ORGAN FOR MAKING BASIC POLICY DECISIONS AND TOO HIGH-RANKING FOR DAY-TO-DAY MATTERS. IT FELL INTO COMPLETE DISUSE IN 1974, WITH THEN FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA INDICATING HIS PREFERENCE FOR A NEW STRUCTURE IN WHICH HIS OPPOSITE NUMBER WOULD BE THE SECRETARY OF STATE. THE SEPARATE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE MET ONLY ONCE, IN 1969, AND ITS BUSINESS HAS BEEN CONDUCTED SINCE THROUGH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS.

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WM THE TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE, FORMED TO IMPLEMENT THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROVISIONS OF THE 1970 AGREEMENT, DRAWS ITS CO-DIRECTORS FROM THE EMBASSY (PAO) AND THE MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND EDUCATION AND SCIENCE. THIS COMMITTEE HAS MET REGULARLY AND HAS FUNCTIONED EFFECTIVELY, DRAWING ON THE SERVICES OF THE FULBRIGHT COMMISSION AND ACTIVE SPECIAL COMMITTEES OF ACADEMICS TO ASSIST WITH CANDIDATE SELECTION AND PROJECT DEVELOPMENT. IN CONTRAST, THERE HAS BEEN NO FORMAL STRUCTURE FOR ADMINISTRATION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PROGRAMS, WHICH HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT LARGELY BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY (DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR INTERNATIONAL TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION) AND THE EMBASSY (SCIENCE ATTACHE), WITH ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT DRAWN FROM THEIR OFFICES, AND WITH VERY HELPFUL BACK-UP ON THE U.S. SIDE FROM NSF.

3. THE ONLY PART OF THE STRUCTURE ENJOYING CONTINUOUS DAY-TO-DAY OPERATION HAS BEEN THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE MATTERS, WHICH DEALS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY WITH ROUTINE MATTERS RELATED TO OUR USE OF MILITARY FACILITIES IN SPAIN. ALTHOUGH A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SERVES AS A DIPLOMATIC SECRETARY OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT, THERE ARE RELATIVELY FEW MATTERS OF DIRECT INTEREST TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, AND ITS PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN MINIMAL.

4. REQUIREMENTS FOR THE FUTURE: IT HAS BEEN CLEAR FROM EARLY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE 1976 TREATY THAT THE SPANISH SEEK A SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER PROFILE FOR THE NEW STRUCTURE AND A CERTAIN PARALLELISM TO NATO. THEY ALSO SEEK A STRUCTURE CAPABLE NOT ONLY OF DEBATING ISSUES BUT ALSO OF RESOLVING THEM HERE IN MADRID. BEYOND THIS, THE CONSENSUS ON THE SPANISH SIDE BEGINS TO BREAK DOWN. THERE IS AN IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE OF VIEW BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE MILITARY MINISTRIES OVER THE DEGREE OF INTEGRATION OF THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN ELEMENTS OF THE STRUCTURE. DESPITE THE LANGUAGE IN SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT -1 MAKING THE NEW JOINT MILITARY COMMITTEE "DEPENDENT ON" THE US-SPANISH COUNCIL, ELEMENTS WITHIN THE SPANISH MILITARY ARE ALREADY WORKING TOWARD SEPARATION. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS VIEW THIS WITH CONSIDERABLE CONCERN AND HAVE URGED OUR ASSISTANCE IN DEVELOPING THE TOTAL STRUCTURE SO AS TO ASSURE A REASONABLE DEGREE OF INTEGRATION, COORDINATION AND CENTRAL POLITICAL CONTROL.

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TM WHILE SOME SEPARATION OF MILITARY AND NONMILITARY ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONSHIP WILL ALSO REMAIN ADVISABLE FROM OUR VIEWPOINT, THERE ARE IMPORTANT REASONS TO SUPPORT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S OBJECTIVE OF A GREATER ROLE FOR ITSELF. PARTICULARLY UNDER THE PRESENT DYNAMIC FOREIGN MINISTER, THIS COULD GIVE GREATER LIFE TO THE STRUCTURE, INCREASE ITS POLITICAL UTILITY AS A GESTURE OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR THIS GOVT'S CAREFUL EFFORTS TOWARD POLITICAL EVOLUTION, AND BETTER ENABLE USE OF THE STRUCTURE TO HELP MOVE

SPAIN ALONG THE PATH TOWARD GREATER INTEGRATION WITH ATLANTIC INSTITUTIONS. IT COULD ALSO PROVE A HEALTHY EXPERIENCE FOR SPANISH MILITARY OFFICIALS, WHO FACE THE PROSPECT OF EVENTUAL FORMATION OF A DEFENSE MINISTRY, TO DISCUSS BOTH DEFENSE MATTERS AND OTHER ASPECTS OF SPANISH FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH THEIR OWN AND OUR CIVILIAN OFFICIALS MORE THAN HAS BEEN THEIR CUSTOM IN THE PAST. A FULLY INDEPENDENT MILITARY STRUCTURE WOULD PRESERVE SOME WEAKNESSES OF THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, IT MIGHT BE REGARDED BY THOSE IN THE SPANISH MILITARY DOUBTFUL ABOUT SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO AS AN ADEQUATE SUBSTITUTE FOR NATO MEMBERSHIP.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS: SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH FLOW FROM THIS GENERAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM, AND WHICH TAKE INTO ACCOUNT FOREIGN MINISTRY VIEWPOINTS, INCLUDE:

A. DESIGNATE HIGH-LEVEL PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MINISTERS ON THE COUNCIL, BOTH TO GIVE THE COUNCIL ADDED PROFILE AND TO MAKE POSSIBLE MEETINGS AT THE POLICY LEVEL BETWEEN THE REQUIRED SEMI-ANNUAL MINISTERIAL SESSIONS. THE SPANISH ARE THINKING IN TERMS OF NAMING THE UNDER SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. OUR LOGICAL COUNTERPART WOULD BE THE AMBASSADOR.

B. CENTRALIZE COORDINATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS IN THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE COUNCIL. EACH OF THE FIVE JOINT COMMITTEES UNDER THE COUNCIL WOULD RETAIN THAT INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY NECESSARY TO ITS SMOOTH FUNCTIONING. JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS WOULD BE REDUCED BY ESTABLISHING A LINE OF AUTHORITY FROM THE CO-DIRECTORS OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT TO KEY ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL OF THE FIVE COMMITTEES AND BY DUAL-HATTING SOME OF THE LATTER, GIVING THEM FUNCTIONS IN THE SECRETARIAT ITSELF. FOR EXAMPLE, SOME PERSONS PERFORMING FUNCTIONS IN THE PRESENT PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE

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JOINT COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE MATTERS MIGHT, IN THE NEW ARRANGEMENT, HAVE FUNCTIONS BOTH IN THE NEW PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE COUNCIL AND IN THE JOINT COMMITTEE FOR POLITICO-MILITARY ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS. WHILE SUCH ARRANGEMENTS NEED NOT INTERFERE WITH PRODUCTIVE CURRENT PRACTICES, THEY WOULD SERVE THE PRINCIPLE OF CENTRAL COORDINATION. (THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS GONE BEYOND THIS IN PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EMBASSY TO SUGGEST THE POSSIBILITY OF ASSIGNING POLADS TO THE JOINT MILITARY COMMITTEE TO FACILITATE A BETTER FLOW OF INFORMATION TO THE CIVILIAN SIDE OF THE HOUSE. WE DOUBT THE SPANISH MILITARY WOULD SIT STILL FOR THIS.)

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POLAD CINCEUR (VIA POUCH)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 1881

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C. APPOINT CIVILIAN SECRETARIES (FOREIGN MINISTRY AND EMBASY) AS CO-DIRECTORS OF THE NEW PERMANENT SECRETARIAT. (IT APPEARS THAT LUIS CUERVO, WHO HAS SERVED AS AMERICAN DESK OFFICER AND SECRETARY OF THE SPANISH DELEGATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TREATY, WILL SERVE FOR SPAIN. WE ASSUME HIS COUNTERPART WOULD BE THE EMBASSY'S POL/MIL COUNSELOR.)

D. ESTABLISH NEW OFFICES IN MADRID FOR THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT AND THE JOINT MILITARY COMMITTEE/COMBINED MILITARY COORDINATION AND PLANNING STAFF. (SPACE MAY BE AVAILABLE FOR BOTH AT THE OFFICES OF THE SPANISH HIGH GENERAL STAFF.) MOST WORK OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE FOR POLITICO-MILITARY ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE CO-LOCATED WITH JUSMG-MAAG OFFICES AT THE AIR MINISTRY.

E. CONTINUE TO DRAW ON THE BULBRIGHT COMMISSION TO HANDLE MOST GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE REQUIREMENTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROGRAM, UNDER DIRECTION OF THE NEW JOINT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS. WITH SOME STAFF AUGMENTATION AND INTERNAL REORGANIZATION, IT SHOULD BE ABLE TO HANDLE THE INCREASED WORK LOAD ASSOCIATED WITH A LARGER PROGRAM. THIS APPROACH ALSO PROVIDES THAT DEGREE OF SEPARATION BETWEEN MILITARY AND ACADEMIC PROGRAMS IMPORTANT TO OBTAINING THE COOPERATION OF SPANISH ACADEMICS. (A SIMILAR DEGREE OF SEPARATION WILL BE

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DESIRABLE ALSO IN THE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM.)

F. MAINTAIN SOME PARALLELISM OF RANK THROUGHOUT THE FIVE JOINT COMMITTEE STRUCTURES. SINCE IT APPEARS THE SPANISH WILL NAME PERSONS OF DIRECTOR GENERAL RANK TO SERVE ON THE ECONOMIC, SCI-TECH, AND EDUCATIONAL-CULTURAL COMMITTEES, WE SHOULD CONSIDER EMPLOYING THE FORMULA OF CORRESPONDING ASSISTANT (OR DEPUTY ASSISTANT) SECRETARIES OF STATE OR THEIR DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVES. THE LATTER WOULD PRESUMABLY BE EMBASSY OFFICERS NOW ON BOARD. SUCH A SYSTEM WOULD ENTAIL WILLINGNESS IN PRINCIPLE ON OUR PART TO HAVE THE RESPECTIVE ASSISTANT OR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARIES MEET WITH THEIR SPANISH COUNTERPARTS ONCE OR TWICE A YEAR, PRESUMABLY IN THE CONTEXT OF MEETINGS OF THE MINISTERIAL-LEVEL COUNCIL. REPRESENTATION AT THIS LEVEL WOULD REQUIRE A SLIGHT AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. DRAFT PROTOCOLS ON THE SCI-TECH AND EDUCATIONAL-CULTURAL STRUCTURES SUBMITTED TO THE SPANISH IN DECEMBER, BUT NOT YET FORMALLY DISCUSSED (75 STATE 294809 AND 295054).

G. THE JOINT COMMITTEE FOR POLITICO-MILITARY ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS PRESENTS A PARTICULAR PROBLEM AS SUCCESSOR TO THE PRESENT PERMANENT SECRETARIAT. AS SUGGESTED IN SUBPARA B ABOVE, IT, LIKE THE OTHER COMMITTEES, WILL NEED TO BE TIED ADMINISTRATIVELY TO THE NEW PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE COUNCIL. THIS MAY BE ACCOMPLISHED IN ITS CASE ALSO BY DUAL-HATTING THE CO-DIRECTORS OF THE NEW PERMANENT SECRETARIAT AS DESIGNATED DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRMEN (SEE ALSO L BELOW). WITH RESPECT TO THE SELECTION OF THE CO-CHAIRMEN THEMSELVES, THE KIND OF FORMAL PARALLELISM IN RANK SOUGHT BY THE SPANISH MIGHT BE PROVIDED ON OUR SIDE THROUGH NAMING AN APPROPRIATE DOD OFFICIAL, SINCE THE SPANISH CO-CHAIRMAN CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE A SENIOR MILITARY OFFICER.

H. THE JOINT COORDINATION COMMISSION PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE V OF SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT 1 (TO PROMOTE MEANINGFUL COORDINATION WITH NATO) WOULD PRESUMABLY NOT BE ESTABLISHED INITIALLY BUT WOULD BE A SUBJECT FOR NEGOTIATION BY THE MINISTERS AT AN EARLY MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, AND WOULD BE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO THE COUNCIL.

I. THE SPANISH LIAISON OFFICERS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE V OF  
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SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT 5 WOULD PRESUMABLY REPORT NOT ONLY TO THEIR OWN SERVICES BUT ALSO TO THE COMBINED MILITARY COORDINATION AND PLANNING STAFF.

J. WITH RESPECT TO THE DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVES IN MADRID OF THE

PERMANENT MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES ON THE COUNCIL--WHO ARE DUAL-HATTED BOTH AS DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVES IN MADRID OF THE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE JOINT MILITARY COMMITTEE AND AS CO-DIRECTORS OF THE COMBINED MILITARY COORDINATION AND PLANNING STAFF--A PRELIMINARY CONVERSATION WITH SENOR SPANISH OFFICERS WAS REPORTED IN JUSMG-MAAG DTG 041540 FEB 76. WE SUPPORT THE CONCLUSION REACHED IN THAT EXCHANGE THAT THEIR INITIAL STAFF SHOULD BE SMALL AND HIGHLY QUALIFIED. WE UNDERSTAND THE DIRECTION OF FOREIGN MINISTRY AND SPANISH MILITARY THINKING TO BE THAT THE GENERAL OFFICER ASSIGNED BY THE U.S. SIDE TO THIS POSITION SHOULD PROBABLY BE ADDITIONAL TO THE CHIEF JUSMG-MAAG AND THE DEPUTY COMMANDER 16TH AIR FORCE (TO ACHIEVE HIGHER PROFILE AND ADDED MOMENTUM). POTENTIAL ADVANTAGE OF ASSIGNING AN ARMY OFFICER HAVE BEEN SUSPECTED BY SEVERAL SENIOR SPANISH OFFICIALS DIRECTLY CONCERNED--ON THE GROUND THAT IT IS THE SPANISH ARMY WHICH HARBORS THE GREATEST DOUBTS ABOUT CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH NATO AND WHOSE GENERAL ORIENTATION (INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL) STANDS MOST TO BE CHANGED. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THESE VIEWS.

K. AN ACTIVE PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM WOULD BE HELPFUL IN DEVELOPING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE TREATY, AS WELL AS IN AVOIDING THOSE KINDS OF FRICTION, MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND INTER-MINISTERIAL JEALOUSIES ON THE SPANISH SIDE THAT AROSE FROM THE LACK OF INFORMATION ON OPPORTUNITIES CREATED BY NONMILITARY PROGRAMS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE 1970 AGREEMENT. PROGRAM ANNOUNCEMENTS, COMPETITIONS, STUDY OPPORTUNITIES AND ACTIVITY REPORTS BY THE NONMILITARY COMMITTEES WOULD BE PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE FOR WIDE PUBLICITY. THIS MIGHT BE MADE A TASK OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT, WITH PROVISION FOR SPANISH AND U.S. INFORMATION OFFICERS (THE EMBASSY PRESS OFFICER AND A FOREIGN MINISTRY EQUIVALENT) TO SERVE FOR THIS PURPOSE IN THE SECRETARIAT.

1. THE ONLY NEW U.S. STAFFING DIRECTLY SUGGESTED BY ANY OF THE ABOVE IS THAT ON THE MILITARY PLANNING SIDE OF THE HOUSE. FOR THE REST, WE WOULD PROPOSE TO BEGIN WITH EXISTING STAFF. ASSUMING THE CREATION OF A NEW GENERAL OFFICER BILLET PER SUBPARA  
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J, THE CHIEF JUSMG-MAAG WOULD THEN PRESUMABLY SERVE AS DESIGNATED MILITARY REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE U.S. ON THE JOINT COMMITTEE FOR POL-MIL ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS. THE EMBASSY POL-MIL COUNSELOR WOULD BE HIS CIVILIAN COUNTERPART.

7. OTHER MATTERS WILL NEED DISCUSSION AS WELL, BUT MOVING FORWARD SOON ON THOSE LISTED ABOVE WOULD PLACE US IN A GOOD POSITION TO HAVE THE BASIC STRUCTURE IN PLACE SOON AFTER RATIFICATION. A CHART SHOWING OUR CONCEPTION OF THE TOTAL STRUCTURAL LAYOUT HAS ALREADY BEEN PROVIDED TO ALL ADDRESSEES (STATE, ATTN. EUR/WE).  
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